

Mr. Malesworth's ⁽³⁾
¹³⁸⁷
PREFACE
WITH
Historical and Political
REMARKS.

To which is added,
A True State of his CASE, with respect to
the *Irish* CONVOCATION;

THEIR
Complaint, and the Proceeding of the House
of LORDS upon it; As also His own
JUSTIFICATION.

afterwards, L^d. Malesworth

L O N D O N :

Printed, And Sold by J. ROBERTS at the Oxford
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1713? see p. 35

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Mr. Moleseworth's
EXCELLENT
PREFACE, &c.

H *Health and Liberty* are without dispute the
 ' greatest natural Blessings Mankind is
 ' capable of enjoying; I say natural; be-
 ' cause the contrary States are purely ac-
 ' cidental; and arise from Nature de-
 ' bated, depraved or enforced: Yet
 ' these Blessings are seldom sufficiently valued whilst en-
 ' joy'd; like the daily advantages of the Sun and Air;
 ' they seem scarce regarded because so common; by those
 ' that are in possession of them.

But as an *Italian* that passes a Winter in *Greenland*;
 ' will soon be convinc'd through his want of the kind
 ' Influences of that glorious Planet, how much Misery
 ' he endures; in comparison of those who dwell in his
 ' Native Country, so he that knows by *Experience* the
 ' trouble of a languishing Sickness; or the loss of his Li-
 ' berty;

erty, will presently begin to have a right esteem of that which formerly he scarce thought worth his notice.

This *Experience* is either what a Man learns by that which befalls himself, or by making Observations on the condition of other People: The first is the common guide to the generality of Mankind, who are not apt to look beyond themselves, unless with *St. Thomas*: they feel as well as see, they will not believe. Thus in the instance of bodily *Health*, we find those that have been always accusom'd to it, have scarce any Notion of the Misery of the contrary state, and therefore are careless in shunning those Excesses which might bring Diseases upon them; the sad Examples seen every day of miserable sick *Debauchees*, being not sufficient to deter others from lewdness. But the second sort of Experience is the Instructress of wise Men: For the Prudent will not fail to benefit themselves by the Accidents that befall others, both in their *Health* and *Liberty*, by avoiding the occasions of them: And this is one of the great Advantages of Society, that not only the Assistance, but even the Misfortunes of others, may be of use to us.

Want of *Liberty* is a Disease in any Society or Body Politick, like want of *Health* in a particular Person; and as the best way to understand the nature of any Distemper aright, is to consider it in several Patients, since the same Disease may proceed from different causes, so the disorders in Society are best perceived by observing the Nature and Effects of them in our several Neighbours: Wherefore *Travel* seems as necessary to one who desires to be useful to his Country, as practising upon other Mens Distempers is to make an able Physician: For although a Man may see too frequently the Misery of such as are depriv'd of Health without quitting his own Country, yet (thanks to Providence) he must go out of these Kingdoms who would know experimentally the want of *Publick Liberty*. He that Travels into a Climate infected with this Disease (and he can find few that are not) does not only see, but, in some measure, feel the Grievances occasioned by it in the several Inconveniences of living, in some proportion

proportion with the Natives; so as to relish better upon his return (which we suppose depends upon his choice) the freedom and ease of his own home Constitution; and may make good use of this *Experience* without having paid too dear for it: But a Man cannot transmigrate himself for a while into a distemper'd Body as he may Travel into an Enslaved Country, with equal facility of getting rid of each of them again.

Thus 'tis a great, yet rare advantage to learn rightly how to prize *Health* without the expence of being Sick, but one may easily and cheaply grow sensible of the true value of *Liberty* by Travelling into such Countries for a Season as do not enjoy it.

And this can be done by no Nation in the World so commodiously as the *English*: The affluence of their Fortunes and Easiness in their private Affairs are evidently greater than those of other People of *Europe*; so that, generally speaking, none are in a condition to spend more freely, or may propose to reap greater benefit by *Travel*, and yet none have practis'd it less.

In other Countries some Princes and Men of the first Quality may have Purse strong enough to bear the expence, but few of the midling sort venture upon it; and those are commonly either Military Men, who have other designs in view than the knowledge of the World; or the Unfortunate, who chuse it as a Diversion or a Refuge, and who have their Heads too full of their own Miseries, to be at leisure to make their Observations on others. And besides, we often see the like Arbitrary Practices at home (they having been always train'd up in Servitude) does so far vitiate their Reason, as to put them out of a Capacity of judging aright: For 'tis not only possible, but very usual, that People may be so season'd to and hardned in *Slavery*, as not only to have lost the very Taste of *Liberty*, but even to love the contrary State: As Men overrun with the *Spleen* take pleasure in their Distemper.

Nothing in the World can be more reasonable than this Discourse of Health and Liberty, to all *Englishmen*, at a Time, when the rest of *Europe* is labouring under

the terrible Judgments of Tyranny and the Plague. We are the only Nation of Christendom that now call themselves Free, and we have in all Ages priz'd our Freedom, before either Treasure or Blood. Who are the Men that have brought it most into danger will be seen hereafter. How precious a thing Liberty is, and how we are envy'd by other Nations, for the Enjoyment of a Blessing we wantonly play with, as if it was a Trifle, we may see by what a Frenchman said of it; no less a Man than the Famous Historian *Mexeray*, who in a Conversation he had with Mr. *John Hampden* at *Paris*, broke out into these Expressions, with Transport, O

Sec. Hist. P. II. *Fortunatos nimium, bona si sua norint, Angligenas!* we had once in France

the same Happiness and the same Privileges which you have: Our Laws were made by Representatives of our own chusing: Our Money was not taken from us but by our Consent: Our Kings were subject to the Rules of Law and Reason; but now alas we are miserable, and all is lost. Think nothing, Sir, too dear to maintain these precious advantages, and if ever there be occasion venture your Life, your Estate, and all you have, rather than submit to the miserable Condition to which you see us reduc'd. Gentlemen who Travel to France will find few such Lessons as these from Frenchmen; all the use English Travellers can make of their French Tour, is to learn from the Misery and Slavery of that People, to set the higher value on our own Happiness in so good a Constitution.

But in England there are very many Gentlemen, whose Estates will afford them either to travel in Person, or to send abroad such of their Sons for Four or Five Years as have the most solid Judgments, in which time they may acquire such Manners, and make such Observations as shall render them useful to their Country; and thereby advance their private Fortunes, more than what is saved by keeping them at home would amount to.

The Method which has been generally follow'd by us in sending young Gentlemen to Travel can hardly answer any of these ends: On the contrary it has hitherto

' hitherto been so milchievous, that 'tis well travelling
 ' has been so little in fashion. We send them abroad
 ' Children, and bring them home great Boys, and the
 ' returns they make for the Expences laid out by their
 ' Parents, are suitable to their Age: That of the Lan-
 ' guages is the very best, but the most common is an
 ' affected Foppishness, or a filthy Disease, for which
 ' they sometimes exchange their Religion: Besides, the
 ' Pageantry, Luxury, and Licentiousness of the more
 ' Arbitrary Courts have bribed them into an Opinion
 ' of that very Form of Government: Like *Ideots*, who
 ' part with their Bread for a glittering piece of Tinsel,
 ' they prefer gilded *Slavery* to coarse domestick *Liberty*,
 ' and exclaim against their old fashion'd Country-men,
 ' who will not reform their Constitution according to
 ' the new foreign Mode. But the Travelling recommend-
 ' ed here is that of *Men*, who set out so well stock'd
 ' with the Knowledge of their own Country, as to be
 ' able to compare it with others, whereby they may both
 ' supply it where they find it wanting, and set a true
 ' value on't where it excels: With this help such Tra-
 ' vellers could not fail of becoming serviceable to the
 ' Publick, in contributing daily towards the bettering of
 ' our Constitution, though without doubt it be already
 ' one of the best in the World.

' For it were as fond to imagine we need not go abroad,
 ' and learn of others, because we have perhaps better
 ' Laws and Customs already than Foreigners, as it were
 ' not to Trade abroad, because we dwell in one of the
 ' plentifullest Parts of the World. But as our Merchants
 ' bring every day from barren Countries many useful
 ' things, which our own good one does not produce; so
 ' if the same care were taken to supply us with exact Ac-
 ' counts of the Constitutions, Manners, and Condition
 ' of other Nations, we might, without doubt, find out
 ' many things for our purpose, which now our meer
 ' Ignorance keeps us from being sensible that we want.
 ' The *Athenians*, *Spartans*, and *Romans* did not think
 ' themselves too wise to follow this Method, they were
 ' at great Expence to procure the Laws of other Nations,
 ' thereby to improve their own: And we know they
 ' throve

throve by it, since few Governments are so ill constituted, as not to have some good Customs. We find admirable Regulations in *Denmark*, and we read of others among the Savage *Americans* fit to serve for Models to the most civilized *Europeans*.

But although the Constitution of our Government were too perfect already to receive any Improvement, yet the best Methods conducing to the peaceable Conservation of its present Form, are well worth every *English Man's* enquiry; neither are these so easily to be found in this Age, which were judged so difficult, (if not altogether impracticable) by the greatest of

Cunctas Nationes & Urbes populos aut primores aut singuli regunt; delecta ex his, & constituta Reipublica forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit band diuturna esse potest.
Tacit. lib. 4. *Annal.*

Politicians in his time. 'Tis true, the Wisdom of our Ancestors, or their good Fortune, has hitherto made these our Kingdoms an Exception to his general Maxim; yet we all know how many grievous Tempets (which as often threatned Shipwrack) this Vessel of our Commonwealth has undergone. The perpetual Contentts between the Kings and the People (whilst those endeavour'd to acquire a greater Power than was legally due, and these to preserve or recover their just Liberties) have

been the contending Billows that have kept it afloat; so that all we pretended to by the late Revolution bought with so great Expence, (yet not too dearly paid for) was to be as we were, and that every one should have his own again; the affecting of which may be called a piece of good Luck, and that's the best can be said of it. But must frequent Blood-lettings be indispensibly necessary to preserve our Constitution? Is it not possible for us to render vain and untrue that Sarcasm of Foreigners, who object to us that our *English Kings* have either too little Power, or too much, and that therefore we must expect no settled or lasting Peace? Shall we for ever retain the ill Character they give us of the most mutable inconstant Nation of the World? Which however we do not deserve, no
more

' more than *England* does that of *Regnum Diabolorum*, so
 ' common in unconsidering Foreigners Mouths? Me-
 ' thinks a Method to preserve our Commonwealth in
 ' its legal State of Freedom, without the necessity of a
 ' Civil War once or twice every Age, were a benefit
 ' worth searching for, though we went to the furthest
 ' Corners of the World in quest of it.

' Besides the Knowledge of the present State of our
 ' Neighbour Nations (which is best acquired by *Travel*)
 ' is more incumbent on the Gentlemen of *England* than
 ' any others; since they make so considerable a part of
 ' our Government in *Parliament*, where foreign Business
 ' comes frequently under Consideration, and at present
 ' more than ever.

If we were the Envy of Foreigners in King *Charles*
 and King *James's* Reign, what must we be when the
 Vigor of the *English* Liberty had exerted it self in the
Revolution, and all the Nations around us beheld the
 Lustre of that Spirit, which redeem'd us from the Bon-
 dage of Popery and Arbitrary Power. It appear'd glo-
 riously in the Vote of *Parliament*, concerning King
James's having broken the *Original Contract*, and *Abdi-*
cated the Throne; upon which an Eminent Author has
 this Excellent Resolution; *This Vote shew'd to all Europe*
the Wisdom and Spirit of the Nation, and so much the greater
Pity it is, that little Care hath been taken to maintain it
intelligibly Abroad, and in every respect such as it was an
Honour to England.

' 'Tis none of the smallest Advantages which his *Ma-*
 ' *jefty* has procured us by his accession to the Crown, that
 ' we make a greater Figure in the World than formerly;
 ' we have more foreign Alliances, are become the Head
 ' of more than a Protestant League, and have a right to
 ' intermeddle in the Affairs of *Europe*, beyond what we
 ' ever pretended to in any of the preceding Reigns:
 ' For 'tis a true, though but a Melancholly Reflection,
 ' that our late *Kings* half undid us, and bred us up as
 ' narrow spirited as they could, made us consider our
 ' selves as proscribed from the World; in every sense
 ' *toto*

1010 *divisio orbe Britannos.* And indeed they had with-
 drawn us from the World so long till the World had
 almost overlook'd us; we seldom were permitted to
 cast an Eye farther than *France* or *Holland*, and then
 too we were carefully watch'd: But at present Mat-
 ters are otherwise, we have a *Prince* that has rais'd us
 to our natural Station, the Eyes of most part of the
 World are now upon us, and take their Measures
 from our Councils: We find every day occasion to
 inform our selves of the Strength and Interests of the
 several Princes of *Europe*. And perhaps one great
 reason why we live up no better to the mighty Post
 we are advanced to, nor maintain our Character in
 it with great Reputation, is because our Education
 has been below it, and we have been too much lock'd
 up at home, when we should have been acquainting
 our selves with the Affairs of the World abroad.

We have lately bought the Experience of this Truth
 too dear, not to be now sensible of it. 'tis not very
 long ago since nothing was more generally believed
 (even by Men of the best Sense) than that the Power
 of *England* was so unquestionably establish'd at Sea,
 that no Force could possibly shake it; that the *English*
 Valour and Manner of Fighting was so far beyond
 all others, that nothing was more desirable than a
French War. Should any one have been so regardless
 of his Reputation, as at that time to have represen-
 ted the *French* an overmatch for the united Forces of
England and *Holland*, or have said that we should
 live to see our selves insulted on our Coasts, and our
 Trade endanger'd by them, that we should be in Ap-
 prehensions every Year of an Invasion and a *French*
 Conquest: Such a venturesome Man must have ex-
 pected to have pass'd for a very Traveller, or at best
 for an ill natur'd or unthinking Person, who little con-
 sider'd what the irresistible Force of an *English* Arm
 was; but our late Experience has reclaim'd us from
 these Mistakes, our Fathers and Grandfathers told us
 indeed these things when they were true, when our
Teomanry and *Commonalty* were every Day exercised
 in drawing the *Long-bow* and handling the *Brown-bill*
 with

‘ with other Weapons then in use, wherein we excell’d
 ‘ all the World; but we have liv’d upon the Credit
 ‘ of those Times too long, and superciliously neglect-
 ‘ ed our formidable Neighbour and Enemy, whilst he
 ‘ was improving his Strength, and we, through the
 ‘ Encouragement and by design of our late *Rulers*, were
 ‘ enervating our own.

‘ The *Ecclesiasticks* of most Religions, who are al-
 ‘ low’d to understand and prosecute their own Interests
 ‘ best of any People, though they be generally Persons
 ‘ whose Function obliges them to a sedentary and stu-
 ‘ dious Course of Life, have not omitted to draw such
 ‘ Advantages from *Travel* as conduce to their Honour
 ‘ and Profit. These Men, whose conversing with Books
 ‘ makes them know more than others, have yet found
 ‘ their Account in sending some of the most judicious
 ‘ of their Members and Fraternities to fetch home
 ‘ Knowledge and Experience from the remotest parts of
 ‘ the World. The Colledge *De propaganda fide* was e-
 ‘ stablish’d under pretence indeed of serving Religion,
 ‘ but we know the Founders of it are no farther Slaves
 ‘ to Religion than ’twill be serviceable to them, nei-
 ‘ ther was it so much through Zeal for Conversions,
 ‘ as to increase their Revenues, and learn Foreign Po-
 ‘ licies in Church and State Affairs. The *Jesuits* have
 ‘ brought several Maxims, as well as Sums, from as far
 ‘ off as *China* and *Japan*, thereby improving their Know-
 ‘ ledge, so as to outwit their Friends at home, and by
 ‘ following their Example in this, I am sure we can
 ‘ run no hazard, at least of passing for Fools. These
 ‘ Men (whose firm adherence to the most exquisite Ty-
 ‘ ranny is manifest by their indefatigable Endeavours
 ‘ in behalf of the *French King’s* Interests, as formerly
 ‘ of the House of *Austria’s*, whilst it was in its height)
 ‘ have by these Arts ingrossed to themselves the Edu-
 ‘ cation of the Youth in all Popish Countries. The
 ‘ *Lutheran* Priests (who have an entire dependance on
 ‘ their Kings and Princes) are intrusted with the like
 ‘ in those Countries which observe the Confession of
 ‘ *Augsburg*. They also send abroad some of their hope-
 ‘ fullest young Students, several of which may be met

with at *Oxford, Cambridge* and *Paris* : The use
 they make of *Travel* being not only to improve their
 Knowledge in Sciences, but to learn fit Methods to
 please their Sovereigns at the expence of the People's
 Liberties. Now in former Ages, whilst the *Ecclesiasticks*
 were both ignorant and scandalously wicked, they
 were not esteemed by the Layety, and consequently
 had not so much Power to do mischief : But since
 that through a Reformation of Manners, and Know-
 ledge of the World, they have recover'd Credit, and
 that the restored Learning of *Europe* is principally
 lodg'd among them, they have gained a much greater
 influence both on the Opinions and Practices of their
 Disciples, and promoted a pernicious Doctrine with all
 the succels they themselves could desire. But the
 same *Travel* will afford the best Antidote for this
 Poison, and teach a Gentleman, who makes right
 use of it, by what steps *Slavery* has within these last
 200 Years crept upon *Europe*, most of the Protestant,
 as well as Popish Countries having, in a manner, quite
 lost the precious Jewel, *Liberty*. This cannot be attri-
 buted to any more probable cause than the enslaving
 the Spirits of the People, as a preparative to that of
 their Bodies ; for since those Foreign Princes think it
 their Interest that Subjects should obey without *Re-
 serve*, and all *Priests* who depend upon the *Prince*,
 are, for their own sakes, obliged to promote what he e-
 steems his Interest, 'tis plain, the Education of Youth,
 on which is laid the very Foundation Stones of the
 publick Liberty, has been of late years committed to
 the sole management of such as make it their business
 to undermine it ; and must needs do so, unless they
 will be false to their Fortunes, and make the Character
 of *Priest* give place to that of true *Patriot*.

'Tis confess'd that in their Schools and Universities,
 excellent Rules for attaining Languages and Sciences
 are made use of with greater succels than any hereto-
 fore : Those Youths especially, who have been bred
 among the *Jesuits*, are justly remarked to excel others
 of equal Parts instructed elsewhere : But still this is on-
 ly a training up in the Knowledge of Words and Lan-
 guages,

' guages, whereof there is seldom any occasion, as if
 ' the Pupils were intended to be made School-masters;
 ' whilst the weightier Matters of true Learning, where-
 ' of one has occasion every Hour, such as good Princi-
 ' ples, Morals, the improvement of Reason, the love
 ' of Justice, the value of Liberty, the duty owing to
 ' one's Countrey and the Laws, are either quite omitt
 ' ed, or slightly passed over: Indeed they forget not to
 ' recommend frequently to them what they call the
 ' *Queen of all Vertues*, viz. *Submission* to Superiors, and
 ' an entire *blind Obedience* to Authority, without instru-
 ' cting them in the due measures of it, rather teaching
 ' them that 'tis without all bounds: Thus the Spirits of
 ' Men are from the beginning inured to Subjection, and
 ' deprived of the right Notion of a generous and legal
 ' Freedom, which few among them (so hardly are the
 ' prejudices of Education shaken off) grow sensible of,
 ' till they become of some Age and Maturity, or have
 ' unlearn'd by good Company and Travel those dange-
 ' rous *passive Doctrines* they suck'd in at the *Schools* and
 ' *Universities*: But most have the Misfortune to carry
 ' these slavish Opinions with them to their Graves.

' Had these Countries, whilst they were free, com-
 ' mitted the Government of their Youth to *Philosophers*
 ' instead of *Priests*, they had, in all probability, preserv'd
 ' themselves from the Yoak of Bondage to this Day,
 ' whereas now they not only endure it, but approve of
 ' it likewise. - - - - *tantum religio potuit.*

What Relation this has to our selves, may be seen
 by a Letter to King *William*, suppos'd to be written by
 a Clergyman of the Church of *England*, and publish'd
 soon after the Peace of *Reswick*. " The Craft of the
 " Priest, *says he*, which consists in framing such Inter-
 " pretations of Holy Scripture as serve an indirect
 " Interest, was never discover'd so much as of late,
 " and no Person has so much contributed to the Dis-
 " covery hereof as your self, who by the Revolution
 " you have lately made, have revers'd all the Political
 " Divinity which the Clergy have been propagating
 " since the Reign of King *James* the First. 'Twas the
 " Church Clergy and Party which by Preaching and

" Voting oppos'd the Bill for Excluding *James Duke*
 " of *Fork*, a known Papist; 'twas this Party who im-
 " pos'd upon the Nation the Doctrine of *Passive Obe-*
 " *dience* to a Tyrannical King upon Pain of Damnation.
 " They always avow'd the Divine Right of a Lineal
 " Succession to the Crown, by which your Majesty is
 " excluded. From these Principles some of them openly
 " refus'd to Swear Allegiance to your Majesty, and those
 " of them who yeild a Passive Conformity to your Title
 " and Government, have been found in several Disse-
 " ring Stories about the Ways and Means whereby they
 " satisfy their Consciences in this Manner. *Again,*
 " Nothing is more notoriously known than that in the
 " last Four Reigns, many Church Arts and Court Pra-
 " ctices were us'd to break in upon this happy Con-
 " stitution, by raising the Power of the King above what
 " it ought to be, and by reducing the Commons to a
 " narrower compass of Power than what by Right belongs
 " to them." We need not go so far back as the last Reign, a
 very Learned, Pious, and Reveren'd Father of our Church
 told us in a Speech in Parliament not much above
 Three Years ago, I am oblig'd to take Notice of the
 Time, lest some People might mistake it on Account
 of an Expression concerning the Peace. *These Notions,*
 says his Lordship, speaking of the *Divine Right*, &c.
have been long let run among us, and have appear'd in a
most violent unguarded Manner ever since the Attempt of
the Pretender, and more of late since the Preliminaries upon
the Overtures for a Peace seem to extinguish their Hopes.
What Sermons on this Head are preach'd in this City, at
Affizes, at Bath, and at many Cathedrals. Furious Men
fit themselves with some hot Sermons which they carry about
from Place to Place to Poison the Nation. This has not
only the visible Effect design'd of it, by shaking many in
their Allegiance to the Queen, and in their adhering to the Pro-
testant Succession, but it has a cursed Effect on many others, on
whom this their Design does not succeed. Is it any Crime
to say of these Men, They that have disturbed the World
are Come hither also.

For the Pious and Learned Clergy, there is not a Man
 in the Kingdom who has not an entire Veneration and
 Respect, but all Wisemen, especially in such an Impor-

tant Case, do distinguish the Person from the Function, and a Thousand Laws cou'd not set Dr. S—— and Mr. *Hoadly* on the same Foot in the Opinion of Men of Sense and Honesty.

‘ The *Greeks* and *Romans* instituted their *Academies* to quite another purpose, the whole Education of their Youth tended to make them as useful to the Society they lived in as possible. There they were train’d up to Exercise and Labour, to accustom them to an active Life: No Vice was more infamous than Sloth, nor any Man more contemptible than him that was too lazy to do all the Good he could; the *Lectures* of their *Philosophers* served to quicken them up to this. They recommended above all things the Duty to their Country, the preservation of the Laws and the publick Liberty; subservient to which they preach’d up Moral Virtues, such as Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, a contempt of Death, &c. Sometimes they made use of pious Cheats, as *Elisian Fields*, and an assurance of Future Happiness, if they died in the Cause of their Country; and even deceived their Hearers into Greatness: Hence proceeded all these noble Characters wherewith their Histories are so stock’d: Hence it was that their *Philosophers* were deservedly look’d upon as Supports of the State, they had their dependance wholly upon it; and as they could have no Interest distinct from it, they laid out themselves towards the advancing and promoting the good of it, insomuch that we find the very good Fortune of their *Commonwealths* often lasted no longer than they did. The managers of our modern Education have not been quite so publick Spirited, for it has been, as I have shewn, for the most part in the Hands of Men who have a distinct Interest from the Publick; therefore ’tis not to be wonder’d at, if like the rest of the World, they have been byass’d by it, and directed their principal Designs towards the advancing their own Fortunes.

‘ Good Learning as well as Travel is a great Antidote against the Plague of Tyranny. The Books that are left us of the *Ancients* (from whence, as from Fountains, we draw all that we are now Masters of) are full of Doctrines

‘ Doctrines, Sentences and Examples exhorting to the
 ‘ Conservation or Recovery of the Publick Liberty,
 ‘ which was once valued above Life. The *Heroes* there
 ‘ celebrated are for the most part such as had destroyed
 ‘ or expell’d *Tyrants*; and though *Brutus* be generally
 ‘ declaimed against by modern School-boys, he was then
 ‘ esteemed the true Pattern and Model of exact Virtue.
 ‘ Such was *Cato* of *Utica*, with others of the like Stamp.
 ‘ The more any Person is conversant with good Books,
 ‘ the more shall he find the Practices of these great Men
 ‘ in this particular founded upon Reason, Justice, and
 ‘ Truth; and unanimously approv’d of by most of the
 ‘ succeeding Wise-men which the World has produc’d.
 ‘ But instead of Books which inform the Judgment,
 ‘ those are commonly read in the Schools abroad, where-
 ‘ in an Elegancy of *Latin* and *Greek* Style is more sought
 ‘ after than the matter contained in them. So that such
 ‘ as treat a little boldly of publick Liberty occur to the
 ‘ reading of few, and those grown Men, rather through
 ‘ Chance or their Curiosity, than the recommendation
 ‘ of their Instructors.

A time may come when *Brutus* as well as *Cato* may
 shine on our Stage, and that from the Pen of a most
 Noble Author, who lies under no manner of Scandal
 on account of his *Whiggery* or *Fanaticism*; The Manu-
 script has been seen, and the Sentiments are truly *British*
 and *Roman*: For whoever writes of *Brutus* and Liberty,
 must, if he has a Genius, write well. There is something
 so great and beautiful in such a Character, it cannot
 help animating the Poet and pleasing the Reader. Mr.
Cowley’s admirable Ode of *Excellent Brutus* has got
 him a Reputation infinitely more valuable than the
 Paltry Profit of the Place, of Master of the *Savoy*,
 which it is said he lost by writing it. Such Offence was
 taken to any thing that look’d in Favour of Freedom,
 the Birthright of every *Briton*.

‘ ’Twas not to learn Foreign Languages that the *Gre-*
 ‘ *cian* and *Roman* Youths went for so long together to the
 ‘ *Academies* and *Lectures* of their *Philosophers*. ’Twas
 ‘ not

' not then, as now with us, when the Character of a
 ' Scholar is to be Skilled in Words ; when one who is
 ' well versed in the dark Terms and Subtilties of the
 ' Schools passes for a profound Philosopher, by which
 ' we seem so far to have perverted the Notion of Learning,
 ' that a Man may be reputed a most extraordinary
 ' Scholar, and at the same time be the most useless Thing
 ' in the World ; much less was it to learn their own Mother
 ' Tongues, the *Greek* and *Latin*, which we hunt
 ' after so eagerly for many Years together, (not as being
 ' the Vehicles of good Sense, but as if they had some intrinsic
 ' Virtue.) 'Twas to learn how and when to
 ' speak pertinently, how to act like a Man to subdue the
 ' Passions, to be publick Spirited, to despise Death,
 ' Torments, and Reproach, Riches and the Smiles of
 ' Princes, as well as their Frowns, if they stood between
 ' them and their Duty. This manner of Education
 ' produced Men of another Stamp than appears now
 ' upon the Theatre of the World ; such as we are scarce
 ' worthy to mention, and must never hope to imitate,
 ' till the like manner of Institution grows again into
 ' Reputation ; which in Enslaved Countries 'tis never
 ' likely to do, as long as the *Ecclesiasticks*, who have an
 ' opposite Interest, keep not only the Education of Youth,
 ' but the Consciences of old Men in their Hands.

The Pompous Decree past at *Oxford* in 1683, asserting
 the Absolute Unlimited Power of the King, is enough
 to shew us how liable the Fountain is to be infected,
 and how dangerous such Infection is to the Constitution,
 I leave every one to judge. 'Tis true, the *Oxonians*
 did think fit to belye that Famous Decree, by signing
 the Association for the Prince of *Orange* ; but, as a
 Reverend Bishop says, *Upon what disappointment, or other
 views I cannot tell, this Contradiction to their famed Decree,
 Five Years after it was made, seem'd to take another turn
 back to it again ; and the Notion of a King de facto,*
 which is but a softer Word for an Usurper, came in
Vogue. This Dispute of *de facto* and *de jure* was kept
 up during the last Reign, and went farther in the High
 Church Memorial, where the Q— was put in mind of
 the

the Fate of *Henry the III. of France*, a Suggestion against our Rightful and Lawful Sovereign, which every good Subject cannot think of without Horror. The Prevarications of the Immoral and Illiterate part of the Inferior Clergy in this Point have been so great since the Revolution, that many of those Persons who have pretended to Scepticism, have declar'd, That the greatest part of their Prejudices to Religion, the Clergy, and the Publick Worship, is because *they see Clergy Men take Oaths, and use all Prayers, both Ordinary and Extraordinary for the Government, and yet in their Actings and Discourses, and of late in their Sermons, they shew visibly that they look another way; from whence they conclude, as the same Learned Prelate assures us, They are a Mercenary sort of People without Conscience.* I am satisfy'd there is not a Divine in England, who lives up to the Duty of his Function, that can charge the Layety with want of Respect to him. Such Pastors will never need to have the Dignity of their Character asserted: People are generally more ready to shew the deference they owe them, than they are to expect it. But as for those, who contrary to their Oaths, Preach up a Doctrine that favours the Right of the Pretender, 'tis impossible not to strip them in our Imagination of that Venerable Robe, with which they disguise their Hypocrisy, and not to cry out, *They that have turn'd the World up side down are come hither also.* One cannot say enough to the Honour of the Reverend and Religious Clergy of the Establish'd Church; even the Examiner in his Fulsome Declamation, a few Days since, did not exceed the bounds of Reason and Justice in what he said of the Clergy in general, apply'd to those that shine in their Examples, as well as their Precepts; which are a great part of that Holy Order in Britain. But alas! Those he meant are the *Boutefeus* of the Nation, to whom no more Reverence is due than to other Incendiaries, the Pests of Mankind. One of them is mark'd out in the Speech beforemention'd, *Towards the end of the last Reign a bold Attempt was made on the King's Supremacy, by an Incendiary, who is suppos'd to have no small share in this matter now before your Lordships;* Such may put in their Claim to Respect and Deference, with what heat they please:

The

The very demand of it by them discharges the Duty. And the Pious and Painful Minister will never have occasion to make it. 'Twould be well therefore, if the Good and the Bad were not so unhappily confounded, and the Character did not suffer so much by that Confusion.

‘ To serve by ends, and because *Prlests* thought they should find their own account in it, they calculated those unintelligible Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Jus Divinum*; that the People ought to pay an absolute Obedience to a limited Government; fall down and worship the work of their own Hands, as if it drop’d from Heaven; together with other as profitable Doctrines, which, no doubt, many are by this time ashamed of, tho’ they think it below them to condescend so far as to confess themselves to have been in the wrong. For this Notion of *Jus Divinum* of Kings and Princes was never known in these Northern Parts of the World, till these latter Ages of *Slavery*: Even in the Eastern Countries, though they adore their Kings as Gods, yet they never fancied they received their Right to Reign immediately from Heaven. The single Example in Scripture so much insisted on, viz. the Reign of *Saul* over the *Jews*, and *Samuel’s* Description of what a King would be, not what he lawfully might be, proves either nothing at all, or the contrary to what some would have it; for besides that there are many relations of Fact in the *Old Testament*, not condemned there, which it would not be only inconvenient, but sinful for us to imitate: Whoever peruses the whole Story of *Saul* and his Successor, will therein find more substantial Arguments against the *Jus Divinum* and *Non-Resistance*, than for it: But we shall leave this, both as being too large an Argument for the compass of a Preface, and as being already fully handled by more able Pens.

‘ All *Europe* was in a manner a free Country till very lately, insomuch, that the *Europeans* were, and still are, distinguish’d in the *Eastern* Parts of the World by the name of *Franks*. In the beginning small Territories, or Congregations of People, chose valiant and wise

' Men to be their Captains and Judges, and as often de-
 ' posed them upon Mismanagement. These Captains
 ' (doing their Duty well and faithfully) were the Originals
 ' of all our Kings and Princes, which at first, and for
 ' a long time, were every where *Elective*. According to their
 ' own Warlike Temper, or that of the People which they
 ' govern'd, they (upon the Score of Revenge, Ambition,
 ' or being overthronged with Multitudes at home) en-
 ' croached upon their Neighbours, till from petty Prin-
 ' cipalities their Countries waxed to mighty Kingdoms.
 ' *Spain* alone consisting of twelve or thirteen till t'other
 ' day, and one part of our *Island* of no less than *Seven* :
 ' Each of these was at first made through an Union of
 ' many petty *Lordships*. *Italy* from several small *Com-*
 ' *monwealths* was at length swallowed up by the *Em-*
 ' *perors, Popes, Kings of Spain, Dukes of Florence,* and
 ' other lesser *Tyrants*. Yet 'tis to be remark'd that the
 ' ancient State of *Europe* is best preserved in *Italy* even
 ' to this day, notwithstanding the Encroachments which
 ' have been there made on the *People's Liberties* ; of which
 ' one Reason may be, that the *Republicks*, which
 ' are more in number and quality in that Spot of Ground
 ' than in all *Europe* besides, keep their *Ecclesiasticks*
 ' within their due bounds, and make use of that na-
 ' tural Wit which Providence and a happy Climate has
 ' given them, to curb those, who if they had Power,
 ' would curb all the World.

' Every one ought to know how great the Rights of
 ' the *People* were very lately in the *Elective* Kingdoms of
 ' *Sweden* and *Denmark* ; how *Germany* was freer than
 ' any other part of *Europe*, till at length 'twas Lorded
 ' by *Captains*, which (in process of time grew *Princes*
 ' and *Electors*) and by *Bishops* with Temporal Authority,
 ' who may thank *Charles the Great* (a very biggotted
 ' Prince) for their double Sword of *Flesh* and *Spirit*.

' If it be objected, that *Princes* have acquired a Right
 ' to be Absolute and Arbitrary, where the Subjects have
 ' given up their *Liberties*, there are some in the World
 ' who venture to answer, that no People in their right
 ' Wits, (that is) not guided by Fear or Tumult, can be
 ' supposed to confer an absolute Dominion, or to give
 ' way

' away the Freedom of themselves and their Posterity
 ' for all Generations; that such a Donation ought to be
 ' esteemed of no greater validity than the Gift of an
 ' Estate by a Child or Mad-man from his lawful Suc-
 ' cessor; that the People can no more part with their
 ' legal *Liberties*, than Kings can alienate their Crowns:
 ' That nothing which even the Representative Body of
 ' the People does, which shall afterwards tend to the
 ' detriment of the Universality, can then be obligatory,
 ' because many things good and profitable at the time
 ' of making those Laws may be the quite contrary af-
 ' terwards, and as soon as any Law grows apparently
 ' mischievous to the whole Body that made it, or their
 ' Successors, it ought by them to be repealed, and would
 ' certainly be so in Countries where frequent free *Assem-*
 ' *blies* of the *States* are in use. That if these Assemblies
 ' be hindred, or corrupted by sinister Practices, the
 ' obliging quality of such a Law determines of it self
 ' through its own nature, it being supposed that the true
 ' Representatives of the People would have annull'd it,
 ' had they been permitted to meet and act freely: That
 ' the Acts of one general *Parliament*, though a free one,
 ' are not perpetually obliging, since that, as well as par-
 ' ticular Persons, is liable to mistakes; but the Acts of an
 ' eternal Succession of *Parliaments*, who make, confirm,
 ' change, or repeal Laws at their pleasure.

This is so very true, that one cannot have any Idea
 of a Parliament, a Representative of the Body of the
 People, but we immediately imagine it to be an Assembly
 met for their own Preservation and Prosperity, and that
 if they have not a Right to take the Necessary Measures to
 Establish and Advance them, they meet to no more pur-
 pose, and with no more Authority, than a Tumultuous
 Rabble. Now the most Essential and Necessary part of
 Parliamentary Right, is to Settle and Limit the Order
 of their Government. As to what regards *England*, no
 Nation upon Earth has so much Evidence of their Free-
 dom, with respect to Parliaments. *Horn* assures us in
 his *Mirror*, that the People of *England*, after great
 Wars, Tribulations and Troubles, suffer'd for a long time,

by Reason of the Multiplicity of their Kings, did at last Elect and Chuse one King to Reign over them, whom they made to Swear, that he should not only govern them by Law, but that he should be Obedient to suffer Right, as well as others of his People should be. All our Historians lodge Edward the Confessor's whole Title to the Sovereignty, in his being *Electus in Regnum, ab omni Populo*. His Nephew, Edward the Son of Edmund Ironside, having the Hereditary Title. I shall not insist on these, Instances out of our Histories, tho' they are innumerable, but content my self with that Noble Record, which Sir Henry Spelman has cited, *Concil, Vol. I. P. 291.* for we find there, that at a Parliament held at Calchuth, *An. 787.* it was Ordain'd and Enacted, *In illo Conventu Pan anglico, ad quem convenerunt omnes Principes tam Ecclesiastici quam seculares, unâ cum Populo Terra.* That Kings should be Elected by the Parliament, *ut Eligantur à Sacerdotibus, & Senioribus Populi*, and that being Chosen they should have prudent Counsellors fearing God, *Consiliarios prudentes, Deum timentes*, Ministers of known Probity and Merit.

‘ These are hard Sayings in the Opinion of many,
 ‘ but thus much we are sure of, whoever goes about to
 ‘ destroy or diminish the Right of the People in the dis-
 ‘ posal of the Crown, at the same time subverts their Ma-
 ‘ jesty's Title to it: 'Tis therefore seasonable now or never
 ‘ to assert both, notwithstanding the prevarication of
 ‘ those who dare act under and receive benefit by this
 ‘ Revolution which they contributed nothing to, but
 ‘ which the People, through God's Assistance, procured for
 ‘ themselves; yet will not dive into the Merits of the
 ‘ Cause, nor own the Lawfulness of the Fact; but either
 ‘ cautiously avoid the Argument, or if it comes cross
 ‘ their way, mumble it as tenderly as the *Ass* did the
 ‘ *Thistle*, which caused the Philosopher to laugh, who
 ‘ never did it in his Life but that once; so this manner
 ‘ of Behaviour would move both the Laughter and
 ‘ Indignation of all understanding Persons, Lovers of
 ‘ their Country's legal Liberties; for none are forced to
 ‘ fall under greater Absurdities, or to make more terrible
 ‘ Blunders in Divinity, Politicks, and good Sense, than
 ‘ such

such as would fain reconcile present *Interest* to their old beloved *Maxims*---*res est ridicula & nimis jocosa*; Catull. But Heaven be praised, the Nation is almost freed from the gross Error of that *slavish Doctrine*, in spite of the Endeavours of such as would keep it alive, like hot Embers cover'd over with Ashes, ready to be blown up again into a flame upon the first occasion.

In *Russia* and *Muscovy* the Government is as Tyrannical as in any of the more *Eastern Monarchies*, the *Priests* there have very much contributed both to make and keep it so. To the end that the People may be kept in the requisite Temper of Obedience, none are permitted to Travel upon pain of Death, except such as have special License, which are exceeding few; neither are any Gentlemen of those Countries to be met with Abroad, but publick Ministers and their Retinue: The Cause of this severe Prohibition is, lest such Travelers should see the Liberty of other Nations, and be tempted to covet the like for themselves at Home, which might occasion Innovations in the State. The same reason which induces Tyrants to prohibit Travelling, should encourage the People of free Countries to practise it, in order to learn the Methods of preserving that which once lost is very difficultly recover'd; for *Tyranny* usually steals upon a State by degrees, and is (as a Wise Man said) like a *hettick Fever*, which at first is easie to be cured, but hardly can be known; after 'tis thoroughly known it becomes almost incurable. Now *Travel* best of all other Methods discovers (at least expence) the Symptoms of this pernicious Disease, as well as its dismal Effects when grown to a head; and 'tis certainly of greater Importance to understand how to preserve a sound Constitution, than how to repair a crazed one, though this also be a beneficial piece of Knowledge.

In our own *Universities*, which are without controversy the best in the World, whether we consider their Revenues, their Buildings, or their Learning, there are travelling Fellowships establish'd; which in a Country where the *Clergy's Interest* is not distinct from that of the Layety, is so far from being prejudi-

cial

' cial to the Legal Liberties of the People, that it tends
 ' to the Conservation of them; for such worthy Men
 ' as are employ'd Abroad, may bring Home generous
 ' Notions of Liberty, and make admirable Remarks on
 ' the contrary State; which being inculcated from the
 ' Pulpit, and enforced by the Learned Arguments of a-
 ' ble Divines, must needs overthrow those servile Opi-
 ' nions; which, of late, have been too much back'd by
 ' Gods Authority, almost to the ruin of a Free People.

Those Men of the Holy Order that provoke the In-
 dignation of this Author, and other Honest Men, are
 not of the Learned, any more than the Religious part
 of them. There is not a more Learned nor Pious Clergy
 in *Christendom*, than ours in *England*, especially in and
 about *London*. But these Pious and Learned Divines do
 not breathe Fury and Fire from their Pulpits, nor Sound
 an Alarm to Arms, *Briton* against *Briton*: They are
 Preachers of Peace and Virtue, Piety and Charity. They
 are Lovers of their Country and Countrymen; and are
 an Honour to both. 'Tis the Bold, Ignorant Pre-
 tenders, that, being possess'd with the Spirit of Pride and
 Discord, mistake that Possession for Zeal, and disgrace
 both their Profession and Nation: The Younger dis-
 tinguish themselves most by this Frenzy, and seem to
 covet the Infection at the Universities. The Source of
 this Calamity is in the Education, the Breeding of
 Mean Mens Children at a College, by the Charity of
 others, or the Prodigality of Parents; and when they
 come into the World they are ready to embrace any
 Principles or Practices that they think will conduce
 most to the making their Fortunes, or indeed to get
 'em Subsistence.

' I do not hereby mean to reflect on the Order which
 ' generally has the government of our Youth; we have
 ' had the Experience of many among them who have
 ' given proof of a freer Education and useful Learning:
 ' And without question the chief Posts of the Gown of
 ' both kinds were never better fill'd than at present. I
 ' only lament the ill Contrivance of their Constitution,
 ' for

' for while Interest draws one way, and Honesty ano-
 ' ther, when a Man may make his Fortune by for-
 ' getting his Duty to his Country, but shall always
 ' stick at *Mark* while he serves it, 'tis scarcely to be
 ' hoped Men should hold out against such Temptations,
 ' unless they be more gifted with Honesty than the ge-
 ' nerality of Mankind are. And since they continue
 ' still upon the same bottom, it must be expected the
 ' same, or rather as mischievius Doctrines, will every
 ' Day be broach'd: Whereas if they were once set up-
 ' on the same Foot the Philosophers of old were, if Ho-
 ' nesty and the Duty to their Country were made their
 ' private Interest, and the way to thrive, we should soon
 ' see them shift hands, and the Spirit of those *Philosophers*
 ' revive again in them.

' The Constitution of our *Universities*, as to Learning,
 ' seems as unfortunately regulated as it is to Politicks.
 ' We receive the directions of our Studies there, from
 ' Statutes made by those who understood nothing of the
 ' Matter, who had a quite different Notion and Taste
 ' of Learning from what the World has at present: It
 ' seems as ridiculous to take Patterns for the gentle
 ' Learning of this Age from the old fashion'd Learning
 ' of the times wherein the University Statutes were
 ' compiled, as it would be for one who would appear
 ' well dress'd at Court, to make his Cloaths after the
 ' Mode in *Henry* the VIII's day: But 'tis of infinitely
 ' worse consequence; for the prejudices and wrong No-
 ' tions, the stiffness and positiveness in Opinion, the
 ' litigiousness and wrangling, all which the old Philo-
 ' sophy breeds, besides the narrow Spiritedness, and not
 ' enduring of Contradiction, which are generally con-
 ' tracted by a Monastick Life, require a great deal of
 ' time to get rid of, and until they be filed off by Con-
 ' versation in the World abroad, a Man's Learning does
 ' but render him useless and unfit for Society.

' I dare appeal to common Experience, whether those
 ' excellent Men that of late Years have been preferred in
 ' our Church (than which set of Divines *England* scarce
 ' ever knew a better) be not for the most part such as
 ' have been very conversant with the World; and if
 ' they

they have not all travell'd out of this Kingdom, have at least spent the best of their Days in this Epitom of the World, the City of *London*, where they have learnt Christian Liberty as well as other Christian Vertues. The great difference between these and others of narrow *Opiniasfre* Tempers, caus'd by their Monk-like Education, is discernable by every Body, and puts it out of all doubt, that such who have seen most, of what Profession soever they be, prove the most Honest and and Vertuous Men, and fittest for Humane Society: These embrace better Notions relating to the Publick, weigh Opinions before they adhere to them, have a larger Stock of Charity, a clearer Manner of distinguishing between Just and Unjust, understand better the Laws of our own Land, as well as the Priviledges and Frailties of Humane Nature; And all this in a degree far excelling the most Zealous Learned Religious Person who has been brought up in his Cell, and is therefore what we call a *Bigot*, stiff in an Opinion, meerly because he has been used to it, and is ashamed to be thought capable of being deceived.

One can hardly without Transport reflect on the Happiness of the Church, soon after the Revolution, when their Majesty's King *William* and Queen *Mary* fill'd it with Prelates and Pastors of such distinguish'd Merit. The *Tillorsons*, the *Stillingfleets*, the *Patricks*, the *Tenisons*, the *Burnets*, the *Houghs*, the *Moors*, &c. And since the *Fleetwoods*, the *Talbots*, the *Trimmels*, and others, all Ornaments of their Nation and Religion, Men of Wisdom, Piety, Learning, and Moderation, of a truly Christian Spirit, Enemies to Persecution, to Popery, and to that Arbitrary Power, which in the preceding Reigns forc'd the Church to make use of the *Necessary means*, that all Churches and Nations are Entituled to make use of for their own Defence and Preservation.

Lawyers, whose manner of Breeding is much abroad in the World, and who are used to promiscuous Conversation, have been observed in most places to be great Favourers of *Liberty*, because their knowledge of ancient

' ancient Practice, and the just Title which the People
 ' have to their Priviledges (which they meet with every
 ' where in their course of Reading) makes them less
 ' scrupulous of committing what some Divines miscall a
 ' Sin in those that endeavour to preserve or recover them;
 ' the Oversights of some few Gentlemen of this honour-
 ' able Profession are therefore the less excusable; for I
 ' must confess, among other things, that Motto, *A Deo*
 ' *Rex, a Rege Lex* — wherein the Divine Right of the
 ' impious Will of a Tyrant is as strongly asserted as
 ' could be in the compass of a Ring, has occasioned
 ' frequent Reflections, not much in favour of those that
 ' made use of it.

The Motto mention'd in this Paragraph was made
 use of at a Call of Serjeants in King *James* the II's
 Time, when the Law was prostituted to the Will of the
 Prince, and this Nation was become the Abhorrence of
 all the Free People of *Europe*, for suffering such unheard
 of Oppression, and Sanguinary and Unjust Executions.
 There have been in no part of the People of *England*
 more Strenuous Assertors of their Liberties than the
 Lawyers, the *Maynards*, the *Jones's*, the *Trebys*, the *Pol-*
lexsens, the *Holts*, the *Parkers*, &c. But it must also be
 confess'd that the Court have never wanted of them to
 answer other Ends. Sir *John Hawles*, an Excellent
 Lawyer and *Englishman*, says, in his Remarks on *Fitzharris's*
 Tryal, That a Nobleman, who had been an Eminent
 Courtier in the Reign of King *Charles II.* and King
James II. complain'd that those Kings were misled by
 their Lawyers, such as the *Scroggs*, the *Norths*, the
Pemberions, the *Withens*, the ever Infamous *Jefferys*, &c.
 Sir *John* ask'd him, Whether those Kings put their Judges
 and Counsel then upon doing what was done, without considering
 whether it was Legal as the Common Vogue was they did?
 Or whether their Lawyers first advis'd what to be done was
 Law; The Lord answer'd upon his Honour, The Kings
 Counsel at Law first advis'd the King might do by Law,
 what he would have done before he commanded them to do
 it. From such Mercenary, Corrupt Lawyers, arise all
 the Mischiefs, that a Nation is curis'd with Violent Pro-
 secutions, Packt Juries, Unjust Judgments, Some of these
 E Lawyers

Lawyers have been Brib'd by Placer, some by Honours and Titles. Interest and Pride will in bad Minds always have the better of Reason and Right, and we can never enough revere the Memory of King *William*, who fill'd the Benches in *Westminster* with such Upright Judges, and employ'd such able honest Lawyers in his Service; Nor less ought we to be grateful to our present Sovereign, who has so happily imitated Her Royal Predecessor.

‘ Thus I have touch'd upon the Manner of Education necessary to the beginring and finishing a Gentleman, who is to be useful to his Country, which I suppose ought to be the principal end of it. And I can't but believe, if in our Schools our Youth were bred up to understand the Meaning of the Authors they are made to read, as well as the *Syntax* of the Words. If there were as much care taken to inculcate the good Maxims, and recommend the noble Characters the old Historians are so full of, as there is to hammer into their Heads the true Grammer of them, and the fineness of the Phrase: If in our *Universities* a proportionable Care were taken to furnish them with noble and generous Learning; If after this they were duly informed in the Laws and Affairs of their own Country, trained up in good Conversation and useful Knowledge at Home, and then sent Abroad when their Heads began to be well settled, when the Heat of Youth was worn off, and their Judgment ripe enough to make Observation: I say, I cannot but believe that with this manner of Institution a very moderate Understanding might do wonders, and the coming Home fully instructed in the Constitutions of other Governments, would make a Man but the more resolute to maintain his own.

‘ For the Advantage of a free Government above its contrary needs no other help to make it appear, than only to be expos'd to a considerate View with it: The difference may be seen written in the very Faces of the several People, as well as in their manner of Living; and when we find nothing but Misery in the fruitfulest

fruitfullest Countries subject to Arbitrary Power, but always a Face of Plenty and Chearfulness in Countries naturally unfruitful, which have preserv'd their Liberties, there is no further room left for Argument, and one cannot be long in determining which is most eligible. This Observation is so obvious that 'tis hard for any Man that Travels not to make it; therefore 'tis a sufficient reason why all our Gentry should go Abroad. An *English* Man should be shewn the Misery of the enslaved parts of the World, to make him in Love with the Happiness of his own Country; as the *Spartans* expos'd their drunken Servants to their Children, to make them in love with Sobriety.

But the more polish'd and delicious Countries of *France, Spain* or *Italy*, are not the places where this Observation may be made to greatest advantage; the manner of Living, Goodness of the Air and Diet, the Magnificence of the Buildings, Pleasantness of the Gardens, pompous Equipage of some great Persons, dazzle the Eyes of most Travellers, and cast a disguise upon the Slavery of those Parts; and as they render this Evil more supportable to the Natives, so they almost quite hide it from the view of a Cursory Traveller, amusing him too much from considering the Calamities which accompany so much Splendour, and so many Natural Blessings, or from reflecting how much more happy the Condition of the People would be with better usage. But in the *Northern Kingdoms* and *Provinces* there appears little or nothing to divert the Mind from contemplating Slavery in its own Colours, without any of its Ornaments. And since, for that reason, few of our Gentlemen find temptation enough to Travel into those Parts, and we have hardly any tolerable Relation of them extant, though we have frequent occasions of being concerned with them, I thought it might be of use to publish the following *Account of Denmark*, which I took care to be informed of upon the place with the greatest Exactness possible, and have related fairly and impartially, which may save the Curious the labour and expence of that *Voyage*.

Mr. *Benson's* admirable Letter to the *Swedes*, Sir *J. B.* shews us how Slavery took Place in *Sweden* as well as *Denmark*, and marks out particularly the Obligation the *Swedes* have to their Priesthood for so great a Blessing. The Happiness of that Nation in their King's Arbitrary Power, and unalienable Right is seen now by all *Europe*, while they are forc'd to see their fairest Provinces ravish'd from them, and even their Capital in danger thro' the obstinacy of a Prince who has for some Years governed them among Infidels; Himself keeping his Court in *Turkey*, and his Subjects not daring to embrace Peace, or continue the War. The one out of Impotence, the other out of Principle, or rather out of that Fear which is always the Companion of Bondage; To see the most lively Images of Freedom and Slavery, let the *English* Traveller survey and make a comparison of the Two Cities of *Pisa* and *Lucca*. *Pisa* when she was free, rival'd *Genoa* and *Venice* in Trade, and cou'd maintain a strong Fleet and numerous Army, since she has been under the Arbitrary Power of the House of *Medicis*, she is become the Skeleton of a City, a Desert of empty Houses, ruin'd Walls, and unpeopled Streets, while *Lucca* her Neighbour, who has preserv'd her Freedom, can within the narrow Limit of her Dominions, not Seven Miles square, raise and maintain 20000 Horse and Foot.

That Kingdom has often had the Misfortune to be govern'd by *French Counsels*. At the time when Mr. *Algernoon Sydney* was Ambassador at that Court, Monsieur *Terlon*, the *French* Ambassador, had the Confidence to tear out of the Book of *Motto's* in the King's Library, this Verse, which Mr. *Sydney* (according to the liberty allowed to all noble Strangers) had written in it:

—*manus hac inimica tyrannis*
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem—

though Monsieur *Terlon* understood not a word of *Latin*, he was told by others the Meaning of that Sentence, which he consider'd as a *Libel* upon the *French Government*,

vernment, and upon such as was then a setting up in
Denmark by French Assistance, or Example.

The Writing this Verse offended our Court, as well as that of *France*; Indeed, what at that time offended one Court, was sure to offend the other. The Earl of *Leicester*, Coll. *Sydney's* Brother, wrote him a Letter, representing that it had made him Enemies at *Whitchhall*, and advising him to Travel, which he did several Years; He afterwards returned to *England*, where the Spirit of Liberty with which he was animated, was the true occasion of his being murder'd by form of Law, nor was this Writing of his, ever forgotten or forgiven.

To conclude; A considering *English* Traveller will find by experience, that at present nothing is so generally studied by the *Sovereign Princes* of the World, as the Arts of War, and the keeping of their own Countries in the desired Subjection. The Arts of Peace, whereby the Encrease and Prosperity of their Subjects might be promoted, being either intirely neglected or faintly prosecuted; he will further be convinced what great reason he has to bless Providence for his being born, and continuing yet a *Freeman*: He will find that the securing this inestimable Blessing to himself, and transmitting it to late Posterity, is a Duty he owes to his Country; the right performance of which does in a great measure depend upon a good Education of our Youth, and the Preservation of our Constitution upon its true and natural Basis, the *Original Contract*. All other Foundations being false, nonsensical, and rotten; derogatory to the present Government, and absolutely destructive to the legal Liberties of the *English Nation*.

Salus populi suprema lex esto.

The Enemies to our Free Constitution, make a jest of the *Original Contract*, demanding upon all occasions where it is to be found. This was done in *Sacheverell's* Business, That Man's Champions defy'd us to produce proofs of that so often repeated Contract, as if all the Coronation Oaths taken by any of our *Saxon* or *Nor-*

man Kings were not all Conditional, and that that Condition made a Contract.

But since that is not enough to satisfy them, nor the Votes in Parliament declaring the *Original Contract* to be broken by King *James*, I shall repeat what I find in *Roger Hovedon*, and *Lombard* to this purpose, the best Description of this Contract, *Rex quiescit vicarius summi Regis, ad hac est Constitutus ut Regnum & Populum Domini & super Omnia, Sanctam veneretur ejus Ecclesiam, & regat & ab Injuriosis defendat and melificos ab ea evellat & destruat, &c. Quod Nisi faceris nec Regis Nomen in eo Constabit.*

I Cannot omit this opportunity, of saying a Word or Two concerning an Event, which has lately happen'd in *Ireland*, wherein Mr. *Molesworth*, the worthy Author of the preceding Preface, has been injur'd in his Reputation, as if he had out of a profane and sportive Humour, abus'd Scripture, on purpose to affront the Clergy of *Ireland*. That Gentleman having lost his Seat at the Council Board, I shall not presume further to extenuate the Offence that was taken than by endeavouring to shew that it is possible for Clergymen to turn things upside and down, and that some of them have endeavour'd it both in *England* and *Ireland*.

There's no Body who is ever so little acquainted with the History of the Reign of King *Charles I.* but knows that nothing created more ill Blood, than the furious extravagant Sermons and Pamphlets of *Mountague*, as *Manwaring*, *Sibthorp*, and the rest of the *Tanistry* Parsons of that Age. This Truth shines in the Earl of *Clarendon's* admirable History. The first Book publish'd by the Reverend Doctor *Mountague*, one of the Kings Chaplains, was call'd a *New Gag for an Old Goose*; for which he was question'd in Parliament, it being no new thing for the Parliament to take Cognizance of Factious and Seditious Preachers. His Second which he publish'd at the Instigation of the Prelates of the *Armenian* Party, was entitul'd *Appello ad Casarem*; For which being also question'd in Parliament, *Rushworth* tells us, the Bishops of *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, and *St. Davids*, cry'd out, *That it was the Cause of the Church*, but the Commons resolv'd that Mr. *Mountague* endeavour'd to reconcile *England* to *Rome*, and to alienate the Kings affection from his Subjects; However, Two Years after he was made Bishop of *Chicheſter*. The Reverend Dr. *Sibthorp* was charged with preaching an Assize Sermon, at *Northampton*, against the Puritans, and declaring, *That if Princes command any thing against the Laws of God, or of Nature, or impossible, we are bound to a Passive-Obedience, and in all other Cases.* For which the Parliament call'd him to an account, but he was comforted with some good Ecclesiastical Preferment; Doctor *Manwaring* was question'd for preaching at *Whitehall*, before the King, *That*

That the King is not bound to observe the Laws concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties, and his imposing of Loans and Taxes, that without common consent of Parliament, doth oblige the Subjects Conscience upon Pain of Eternal Damnation, &c. One of the Members of the House of Commons making a Speech against him, concludes it thus. "He allows the King a Participation of Omnipotence; than which nothing is more Mischievous to Kings, and the Kingdom, to destroy whom he has gone to Hell for his Divinity." See *Rash.* 1628. The Commons exhibited a Charge against him, which Mr. Pym carry'd to the Lords, before whom Doctor *Mannering* appear'd, not with a train of Coaches, and Followers, not with a tumultuous Rabble at his heels, and an insolent front, ill becoming his Function as well as Circumstances, but with floods of Tears in his Eyes. However their Lordships condemn'd him to Imprisonment, to pay 1000 l. Fine, to make his Submission in Writing, to be suspended the Office for Four Years, to be disabled to have any Ecclesiastical Dignity or Secular Office, notwithstanding which, he was not long after made a Bishop. May we not say of such Clergymen as these, that they are disturbers of the World, and do their endeavour to turn things upside down.

There was something so expressive in this Doctors Submission, that I shall insert it entire, as he deliver'd it to the House of Lords.

May it please this Honourable House,

I do here in all sorrow of Heart and true repentance, acknowledge the many Errors and Indiscretions which I have committed, in preaching and publishing those Two Sermons of mine, which I call Religion and Allegiance, and my great fault in falling upon this Theme again, and handling the same rashly and unadvisably in my own Parish Church of St. Giles's in the Fields, the 4th of May, last past, I do humbly acknowledge these two Sermons to be full of many dangerous Passages, Inferences, and Scandalous Aspersions in most parts of the same, and I acknowledge the Justice of

of this Honourable House in that Judgment and Sentence pass'd upon me for my great Offence: And I do from the bottom of my Heart crave Pardon of God, the King, and this Honourable House, and the Church and the Common-Wealth in General, and those Worthy Persons, adjudged to be reflected upon by me, in Particular, for these great Errors and Offences.

Roger Manwaring.

I cannot omit a Passage in *Rushworth* relating to *Sibthorp* before mention'd, who carried with him one *Sr. John Lamb*, to accuse the *Puritans* to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, their Diocesan, of much Fasting, &c. The Bishop asking *Lamb* what sort of People these *Puritans* were, that good Stanch Church Knight reply'd, *They will not Swear, Whore, or Drink, but they will Cozen and Cheat: They will hear Two Sermons a Day, repeat them, and afterwards pray, and some times Fast all Day.* How exactly does the Scandal of that Age agree with that of our own? And how much of a Piece were the *Tories* of those Times and ours as well as the *Whigs*. If any object, that there have not since been *Disturbers* and *Turners Upside down* among the Clergy, let them have Recourse to the History of King *Charles*, and all the Kings and Queens since the *Restoration*.

In King *Charles II's* Reign, it was become so fashionable to run down all Notions of Liberty, and cry up the Blessings of Prerogative, that the *Freshmen* in the Universities, and the younger Clergy out of them, thought they could not Shine nor advance themselves but by following the Example of the *Cartwrights*, the *Parkers*, the *Thompsons*, &c. till they had preach'd the People into a Necessity of defending themselves by Arms, against that Arbitrary Power which they had been establishing to their own Ruin, as well as the Ruin of the Nation. As to their Behaviour at the *Revolution*, and after it, how they Resisted King *James* when he was here, and preach'd *Non-Resistance* when he was gone, is too well known to need repeating. I shall only mention a Passage or two out of a Treatise call'd *Plain English* published in 1691.

' For the last, *says my Author*, tho' not the least Occa-
 ' sion of our Misfortunes that I shall mention, we are be-
 ' holden to a sort of Men from whom we had the least
 ' Reason to expect it; I mean the Disaffected among the
 ' Clergy. 'Tis pity that any of these Weeds that have
 ' pester'd our Paradise, should grow upon Consecrated
 ' Ground. These Men I observ'd to be the first that dis-
 ' cover'd their Discontent upon the new Settlement, &c.
 ' We have been told what the Church of *England* is in
 ' the true Notion, that it is the Body of the People and
 ' Clergy together in Communion, under a Discipline and
 ' Worship establish'd by Law. But it has been a Stale
 ' Trick of the Clergy in all Times, to engross to them-
 ' selves the Name of the *Church*: A Word, which as the
 ' Matter is now order'd, is made a Cameleon that takes
 ' its Complexion, and varies with every Light. With
 ' different Persons it is a quite different Thing: With
 ' some it is King *James*, with others it is Slavery; with
 ' Bigots, 'tis Ceremonies; with the Ambitious among the
 ' Clergy, 'tis the Exercise of Dominion. What has more
 ' amus'd us than the Outcry of the Church's being in
 ' Danger? We know who they were that began the
 ' Peal; they were generally the most licentious of the
 ' Clergy, who were under a panick Fear of a Reforma-
 ' tion, the only Alteration wherof they could possibly
 ' have any Apprehensions. How are these Observations
 ' made out now by the Practice of the most licentious of
 ' the Clergy; for God be thank'd there are of our Church
 ' as shining Lights as ever adorn'd the Christian Religion?
 ' And those will allow us to say of such as are perpetually
 ' bellowing against *Moderation and Union*, That *they that have*
 ' *turned the World Upside Down are come hither also*; a Text
 ' that was much talk'd of on another Occasion, so long ago
 ' as the Year 1675. when some *Tory* Lawyers, Sir *John Churchill*
 ' and others, were seiz'd by Mr. *Edw. Seymour*, then Speaker
 ' of the House of Commons, in *Westminster Hall*, for plead-
 ' ing against the Rights and the Priviledges of the Subject be-
 ' fore the House of Lords. They being sent to the Tower,
 ' when they came there, Mr. *Hawkins*, the Chaplain, wel-
 ' com'd them with this Text, *They that have turned the World*
 ' *Upside*

Upside down are come hither also. We see who the Men are that are for turning every Thing Topsy-turvy.

As to Mr. *Molesworth's* Case, there are so many various Reports concerning it, I shall content my self with what is made Publick in a printed Paper of the 23^d of *January*, 1713.

• The Commons of *Ireland*, with an inexpressible Courage, and through the greatest Difficulties imaginable which were thrown in their way, had been labouring for a whole Week, first to inform themselves, and afterwards to expose to the Publick the Male Administration of the *L — C —* of *Ireland*. They charg'd him with a long laid evil Design against the Rights and Liberties of the City of *Dublin* by an Intention to garble Corporations, in order to the framing a Parliament which would answer his Ends, by encouraging openly the Papists, in suffering multitudes of them to be armed contrary to Law, by making new Converts (which are known to be for the most part in the Pretender's Interest) or People of no Fortune, and of profligate Characters, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Queen's Council, and such like; by encouraging the late great Riot in the City of *Dublin*, by the Presence and Countenance of his Domestick Gentleman, the Cryer of his Court of Chancery (well known to the Mob) as well as by other ways of violent and implacable Prosecution of Gentlemen, Persons of Honour, Quality and Estate, and of remark for being zealous for Protestants, and this only for Trifles, when at the same time Popish convicted Priests, and virulent Pamphleteers for the Pretender, were openly encouraged; and with several other enormous Designs against the Liberties of the Subject, the Protestant Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom, in favour (as we conceive) of the Pretender, against the undoubted Right of the Queen, and the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, whenever it shall please God to punish these Nations by the Demise of her Majesty.

• For

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For all which Mischiefs, the Remedy judged by the Commons to be nearest at hand, and likely to be most effectual, was, First to examine nicely into and to lay down the Matters of Fact in several of their Resolutions; next to prepare an Address to Her Majesty, as well upon those Resolutions, as the Debates of the House, and then to proceed upon the weighty Affair of the City of *Dublin*, (which had before been looked into) and to frame new Resolutions, which were also to be laid before the Queen. And all this to be done in the short time remaining to them before the Holidays, because they foresaw a probability of their Prorogation, which has since happen'd.

In opposition to all these Proceedings of the Commons then upon the Anvil, the House of Lords thought it advisable to lay claim to their Character of a Supreme Court of Judicature, took upon themselves to prejudge a Cause, which might and ought, according to the Order of Parliamentary Accusations, to have come before them, and address'd her Majesty in Vindication of the *L—— C——* by CounterExaminations, taken after an extraordinary manner *ex parte*, the same Day when the Commons were busy in the Enquiry, by sending for and possessing themselves of the Council Book, lest that should be any Assistance to the Commons Inquisition. This Address of the Lords took up much less time both in resolving and composing, than the weighty and deliberate Methods for the Commons Enquiry and Address would admit of, and consequently was finished and posted over Sea in all haste, to prevent any Effect which the Commons Address and Resolutions might work on the other side of the Water, in prejudice of the *L—— C——*.

But because it was concluded the Weight of the Church superadded, would infallibly turn the Ballance, and effectually render all the Efforts of the Commons fruitless, an Address of the Convocation, vindicating the accused Minister of State, was also judged necessary, and dispatch'd with so much expedition, that as the Lords Address had been sent away one Post before that of the Commons could be ready, this should at least accompany

‘ accompany it, and accordingly it was presented to his
 ‘ Grace the Lord Lieutenant half an Hour before the
 ‘ time appointed for the Commons to present theirs.

‘ This Address of the *Convocation* being in Print, I
 ‘ need not tell you there are therein many severe Lashes
 ‘ at the *Commons*. The World will understand well
 ‘ enough who and what is meant by this *degenerate Age*;
 ‘ the Voice of Envy, Calumny, and Reproach; Schism, the
 ‘ favourite modish Word *Faction*, and such like Express-
 ‘ sions. And considering People will wonder (since
 ‘ there have been in former times some evil Princes, and
 ‘ many evil Ministers to be screened) why the Method
 ‘ of justifying some of them by *Convocation* Addresses
 ‘ was never thought of before. I am apt to believe, that
 ‘ this House of Commons, if it ever meet again, will do
 ‘ what it had no time for before the Recess; that is, ex-
 ‘ amine by what Authority such as are represented by the
 ‘ Commons, and whose Business is purely Religion and
 ‘ Discipline, (nay no more of that neither than what is
 ‘ laid before them) presume to intermeddle so remarkably
 ‘ in Civil Affairs, and this in direct opposition to the
 ‘ Proceeding of their Representatives.

Thus far the Writer of the before-mention’d Paper,
 ‘ Twas on presenting this Address, that Mr. *Molesworth*
 ‘ was reported to have said, *They that have turned the World*
 ‘ *Upside down are come hither also*. Whether what he said
 ‘ had relation to those Reverend Addressers in general, or
 ‘ to *H——s* and others among them in particular, I shall
 ‘ not determine, but proceed to the printed Account of
 ‘ it.

‘ To go on in my Narration of Matter of Fact, I must
 ‘ inform you, that the Reverend *Archdeacon Percival*,
 ‘ (now Prolocutor of the House of Convocation, and as
 ‘ such Subscriber of the Complaint against Mr. *Moles-*
 ‘ *worth*) is the very same Person who on the greatest day
 ‘ of Riot during the Election of Parliament Men for
 ‘ the City of *Dublin*, was by a Cloud of irreproacha-
 ‘ ble Witnesses before the House of Commons, proved to
 ‘ have been one of the principal Fomenters and Ringleaders
 ‘ of the said Riot, to have marched in Company of
 ‘ several other Clergymen, who attended him at the
 ‘ Head

(35)
Head of a vast Mob composed of Papists and the Scum
of the People, thro' most of the great Streets of *Dub-*
lin, encouraging them, and distributing Lawrels to be
worn by them in their Hats as Badges of Distinction,
or as Tokens of Victory, as he called it; one of which
Lawrels he wrote himself; and this was not when he
went to give his Vote for any Candidates, (that having
been done by him the day before) but purely by the in-
fluence of his Profession, to animate a Party already in-
fluenc'd by hot Liquors and Rage, to all the Excesses
that countenanc'd Rioters, armed with Swords, Clubs
and Staves, could possibly proceed to. This he effect-
ually performed to the great Scandal of all sober People,
without any regard to his Character as a Priest of the
Church of *England*, as a Dignitary in that Church, or
as a Christian. Now, Sir, I leave it to you, and to all
the World, to judge whether the seeing of such a Per-
son at the Head of those who were presenting an Address
against the Proceedings of the House of Commons in
Vindication of their Liberties, would not have provo-
ked the patientest Commoner of that House to a just In-
dignation, and forced much harder Expressions than
the bare repetition of a Historical Text to a Friend in
private Conversation, which was the Case here.

The Convocation complaining to the Lords, they re-
presented to the Commons the hainousness of the Offence,
and that *they ought to do Justice upon their Member to that*
Venerable Body the Convocation. Both the Lords and Con-
vocation seem to be chiefly concern'd for the horrid Crime
of impiously profaning the Holy Scriptures: But something
too was due to the Character of so Reverend a Body as
the *Irish* Convocation, who, as they said themselves, had
an *Odium* and an *Asperision* cast upon them by it: For 'twas
indeed very hard, that all of them should be put on no
better Foot with Respect to their Love of Peace and Uni-
on, than the Dean of St. *P*—— and Mr. *H*——, whose
Behaviour was not long ago so amply set forth by the
Lord Baron *Santry*, with all his Topsy Turvy Doings, as well
when he was a *Justice of Peace* as when he was a *Parson*.

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F I N I S.

